THE CRISIS

OCTOBER 1928

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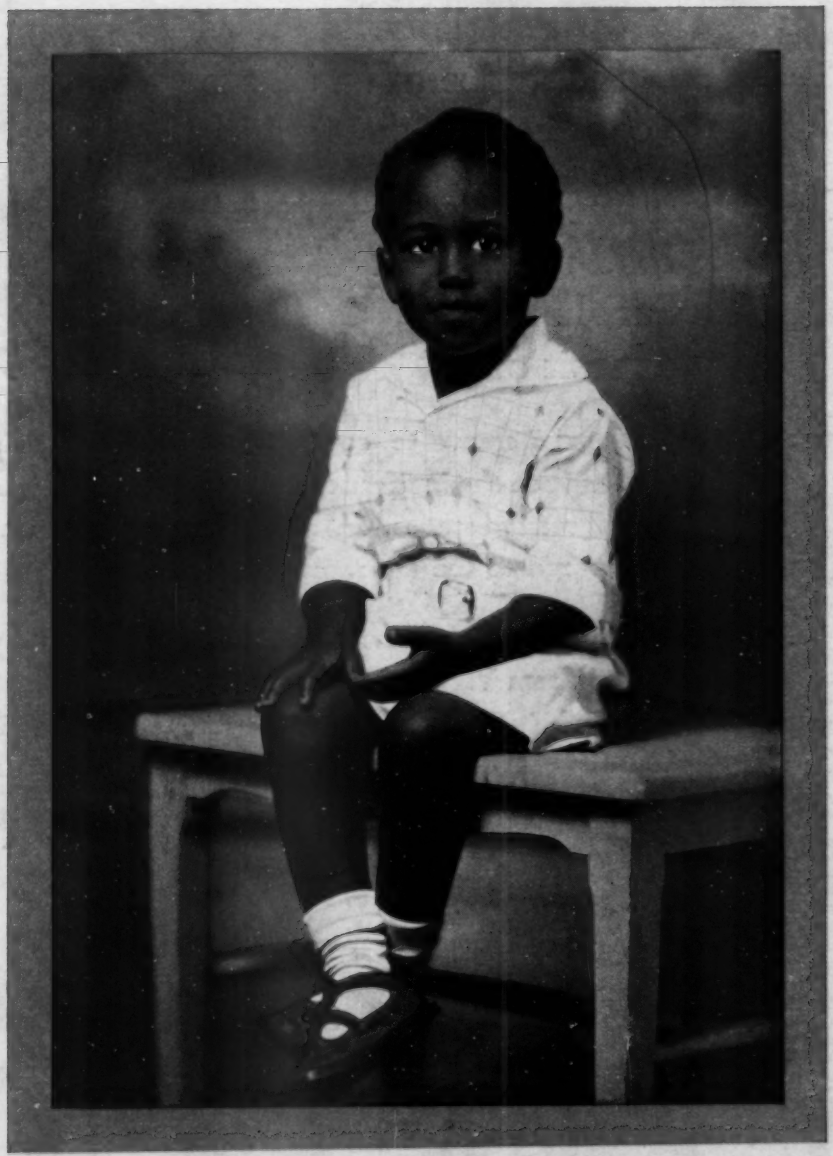

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THE CRISIS

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, *Editor* — PIERCE MCN. THOMPSON, *Business Manager*

Volume 35, No. 10 Contents for October, 1928 *Whole No. 216*

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Our November number will have as usual a cover in colors; and articles on the impossibility of a Third Party movement in the United States, the career of "Sunshine Sammy" since he left the movies, and on "The Trail of the Buffaloes", 10 years after the War. Krigwa Prizes are still offered each month and December 31st closes entries for the Economic Prizes.

As the Crow Flies

THE Germans won the Olympic Games. Who knows it?—Stefan Radich is dead, killed in the Croatian fight for freedom.—The year ending June, 1927, brought us 335,000 immigrants, and in 1928, 307,000.—The Talkies, sight by radio, and color movies, mark the new era.—The liberal world that still hopes has bowed again at the bier of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, martyrs to Massachusetts intolerance.—We are going to be a hundred millions behind this year in the National Treasury. What is a hundred millions to Hoover, Fall and Sinclair?—There are too many people in England. They are rushing them off to Canada and Australia.—How is it possible for a poor girl like Helen Wills to spend all her time traveling over the world and playing amateur tennis for which she can receive no pay, as Tilden knows?—Mr. Al Smith refers to Nicaragua but *not* to Haiti.—One of these days Japan is going to realize that her color bonds to Asia and Africa are worth more than her treaties with Europe and that Manchuria will cost more than she can afford to pay.—Will someone page Mr. Borah!—Breaking the Solid South? It is to laugh! Southern white folk have no freedom to vote. They are chained hand and foot more than the Negroes. Even Heflin will vote for Smith.—And in the meantime, Russia grows.—Does anybody know that the Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress is meeting in Berlin?—The "safest railway in the world," as the New York subway is called, kills and maims a few score of people for reasons unknown.—Persons who think that Great Britain, France and America have recently promised never to fight Niggers, Chinks and Dagoes, will have an opportunity to think again.—Al Smith wants States' Rights in liquor. Also, presumably, in the matter of suffrage.—England has just found her long lost black brother. After a silence of more than twenty-five years, the King has suddenly made two black Knights and three Judicial officers in West Africa. It pays to holler when you are hurt.—We assume that the reason Secretary Kellogg did not invite Monaco to sign the Peace treaty was because Monte Carlo has so long rivaled Wall Street as a center of gambling.—Someone complains that Columbia University got its Negro dialect from a white man. This is natural. White folks know everything better than black folks, and besides, Columbia only wants it for a Doctor's thesis. — They are celebrating in Hawaii the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook and the Sugar Trust. —All aboard for Peace. The world is spending 3,500 millions annually for War. The world has 5½ millions in its standing army and 5,000,000 tons of war ships. Every sixth dollar of taxes goes for armies and navies. This shows, according to Mr. Hoover, that when we say Peace, we mean Peace. Colored persons who do not believe this may get their blocks knocked off.—The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World is meeting at Geneva, with the United States peeking in.—Leo Tolstoi, the first modern Christian.

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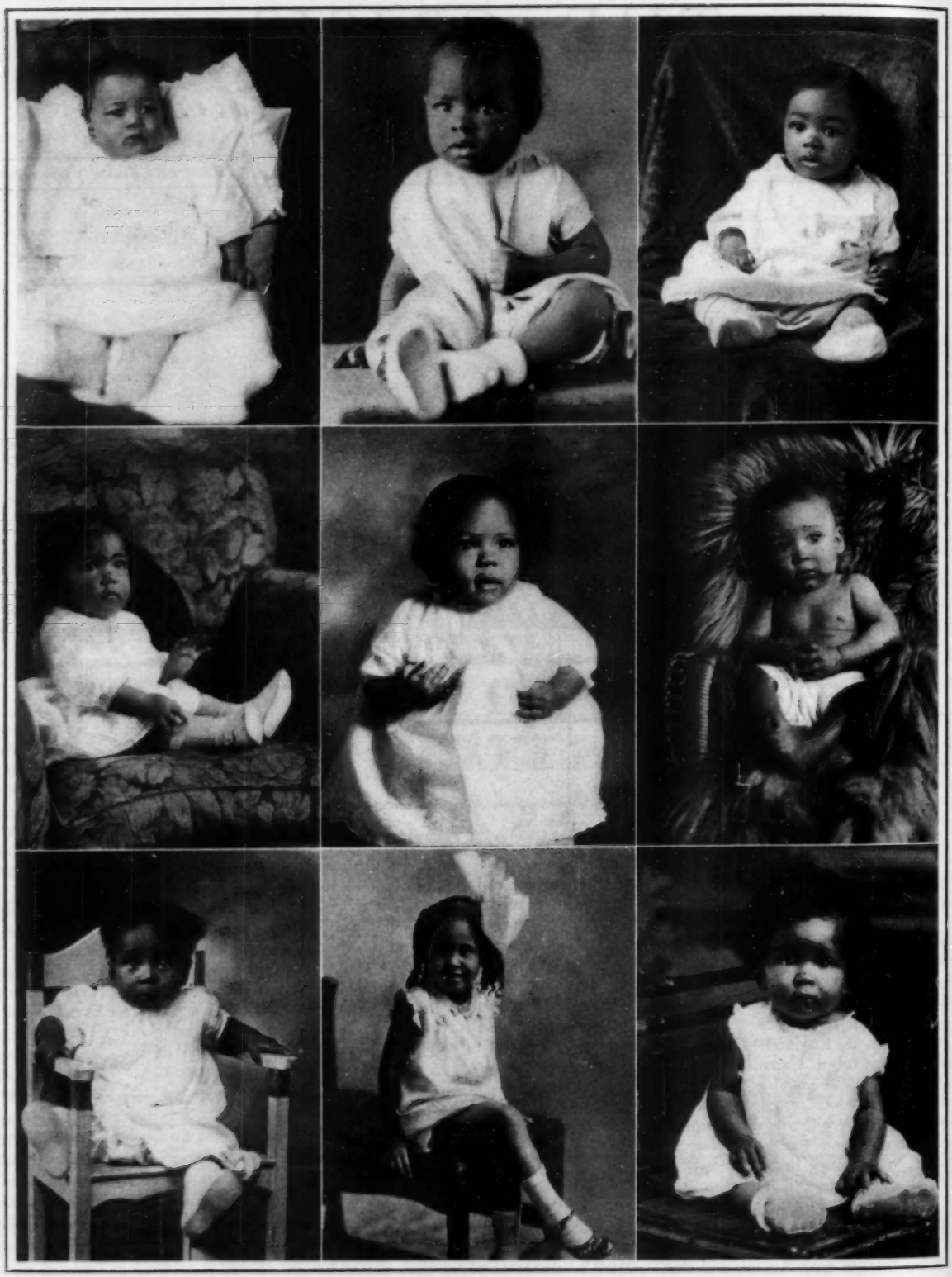


OUR COMING LEADERS

Elfrida R. Powell, New York.
Mary J. Harllee, South Carolina
Kenneth J. Condit, New Jersey
George Griffins, Jr. Texas.
Alice L. Gillespie, Penn.
Anita B. Clifton, California
Glenda E. McNeill, D. C.
Conrad R. Unthank New York
Norma H. Wooten, D. C.

House of Hark Back

A Tale for Young Folk

By EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

YOU'LL doubtless say that Phyllis dreamed it all. And it might have been a dream. It began this way. Phyllis was watching a clear stream. The water kept playing over vermilion and white and purplish pebbles and made them look very clean and cool. Phyllis thought of the poem about the water nymph and the boy and how the nymph had drawn the child into the pool. Dreadful!

She hurried her thoughts on to something else. "I've known rivers," she recalled lines from a poem by Langston Hughes that her elders had repeated, "Ancient dusky rivers." She knew what "ancient" meant, but "dusky"', what did that mean? Dusky?

The little summer winds in the water willows blew softly and a bee, gold barred like a royal bee from Italy, kept humming near her. After that—*What did "dusky" mean?*

Phyllis found herself at a great entrance. At first it seemed to be the hollow of a huge tree. Indeed I think it was a tree toad that met her at the threshold with a tart demand, "Are you looking for data?"

"Data?" Phyllis gasped.

"Never mind, I see you don't know anything about it. Come in."

Phyllis obeyed and seemed as she went through the opening to see walls hung with bats upside down as these creatures fix themselves for winter in tree hollows. Then the bats became dull bronze sconces. And the one or two owls on the walls were doubtless stuffed birds, Phyllis thought. "What is this place?" she asked.

"House of Hark Back," came a voice from no living thing that she could see unless it could have been one of the owls. "And the entrance fee," went on the voice, "is a thought. Only people who think can come in here. Of what were you thinking?"

"Rivers and runlets? Yes, rivers and runlets."

"'Rivers and runlets'?" Sure enough, it was one of the large owls speaking. "Oh, then it's data you want. The tree toad at the door—he's grouchy enough—may have mumbled something against data. Data and warts furnish him something to grumble about. But reason ought to tell him that a House of Hark Back is the very place to which to come for data. Let me call Mary's Lamb."

"Mary's?" Phyllis gasped, wondering if she was about to see that well known creature.

Sarah E. Carter, Texas

The owl gave a piercing cry. "Yes," beginning again to talk to Phyllis, "after the way it's worked all these ages, seems only reasonable that it should have a little rest in the House of Hark Back, when they will allow it to rest! Some one is always calling it out. Mary's Lamb"—the lamb entered—"that holds the honorary post of keeper of parchments in this the House of Hark Back." Evidently the owl was presenting Mary's Lamb.

It was white to Phyllis's amazement and not stone gray like most of the lambs that she had seen.

"Now you want data, you say, on rivers?" the owl went on while Mary's Lamb waited as it had waited on Mary.

"I don't know now," Phyllis replied growing weary of the persistent owl. "I'd just been thinking something from a piece called 'The Negro Speaks of Rivers', I believe. I forget."

"Oh, 'The *Negro* Speaks of Rivers'? That would come under the record of darker peoples. Suppose I call Aben Hamet. Chateaubriand the great French writer created him. He is a Moor of long ago. The Spaniards, you know, drove the Moors from magnificent Granada. But Aben Hamet continued to go back over the water again and again to Granada."

"But why did Aben Hamet go back?"

"For two reasons," the owl said. "One of these was because everywhere in Granada he could find marvelous monuments in fret work and tower that his people the Moors had placed there. He loved to see them. Aben Hamet is a prominent figure here in the House of Hark Back. Here he is."

In walked Aben Hamet, a slender graceful man with rich tinted skin and dark hair and eyes.

"Was it an Italian painter, da Vinci, Aben Hamet, who studied and loved the course of waters? Tell this child, please," suggested the owl.

"Leonardo da Vinci was ever interested in hydraulics. But this little girl"—he turned to Phyllis who had never seen any one more graceful—"might want to know that there was once in old Egypt a man with a strange name, C-T-E-S-I-B-I-U-S. He it was who centuries ago invented that branch of engineering science that is known as hydraulics."

"That's another terrible word," Phyllis cried. "And what does it mean?"

"Hydraulics?" asked Aben Hamet with a pleasant smile. "The regulation of liquid motion to laws and the application of these laws to marine engineering."

"But I would rather talk with Mary's Lamb. I think Mary's Lamb didn't go inside the school. And perhaps it will not be too wise for me to understand."

Aben Hamet smiled again. "Yet I have told you something that it would be well for you to pin to your mind. A man of dark skin invented that science which keeps the fair skinned man's world rushing forward. Call Mary's Lamb. But hereafter whenever you happen to hear the gurgle of waters remember what Aben Hamet has told you: A man heard waters gurgle in old Egypt and made them force."

Aben Hamet swept softly away. And Phyllis began calling, "Mary's Lamb! Mary's Lamb!" The words seemed strangely hard to say. She was trying with all her might. But was she not only gurgling after all?

Then something happened. Phyllis opened her eyes. You're right if you guessed that she had been asleep. She was sitting against a great oak that had a hollow on the other side. And not far beneath Phyllis's toes that

(*Will you please turn to page* 350)

The Little Page

By EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

Calendar Chat

"October is the darling of the year."
—Dunbar

THIS issue of THE CRISIS, the Children's Number, is for the month of nature's most interesting changes, October. Trees become radiant with orange, yellow and crimson. The indescribably interesting migrations of birds take place. The creatures of woods find their winter homes. Corn shocks in the fields are brown neighbors to great golden pumpkins that often remind us of the festival of All Saints, the eve of the vigil of All Hallows, Halloween.

And yet if you and I had lived centuries ago in Rome we might have been planning for the festival of the horse. In ancient days many celebrations occurred in October. But none equaled the occasion of the great Roman sacrifice to the god Mars. A horse that was called *October* would be offered up with elaborate ceremony to the god of war, Mars, most dreaded of the upper gods.

October with the Romans was originally the eighth month in the "year of Romulus" which began with March. But the father of Romulus, according to myth, changed the opening of the year to January. And October became the tenth month, though the original name meant eight. Efforts were made to alter *October* to Invectus, Fectinus, other names. But October comes to us still branded as though it ranked eighth in the march of months.

Galveston

"To a Pupil from His Defeated Teacher"

AS Alexander Sergeievitch Pushkin was leaving the Lyceum in which he had been educated in St. Petersburg he received a portrait of the noted romantic poet, Zhukovskiy. Upon it were written these words, "To a pupil from his defeated teacher". A wonderful endorsement for the young poet, Pushkin, member of a Russian noble family, great grandson of an African who had been ennobled.

Pushkin had barely left school when he wrote in exquisite verse the fairy tale of Ruslán and Ludmíla. This Russia's renowned composer, Mikhael Glinka, set to brilliant opera music, rich in color and description. This early production of the very young poet, we learn, had a wonderful effect in changing the literature of Russia to a simplicity in style that would later mean the triumph of Tolstoy and Turgenieff.

"With this tale the modern Russian literature—simple, realistic in its descriptions, modest in its images and fable, earnest and slightly humoristic—was created." Pushkin as a child loved to listen to his grandmother and his nurse telling thrilling tales of Russia, and even as a man, when compelled by circumstances to return to his country estate, he there eagerly heard the many folk stories of his old nurse and came to an appreciation of the force of simplicity in expression. The *genius* of reformation in Russian literature, "so the world pronounced this playful, crimpy-haired young man who had received the portrait of his teacher.

Galveston

Elf in the Gale

"I WANT the Thistledown Express,"
Cried out an elf named Ben.
"I want the Thistledown Express
To get back home again.

"I rode here on a cricket's back
When summer days were warm,
But he and all the Rosebud Trains
Have left me in the storm.

"I'm here at autumn's wild rough will.
I have no place to hide.
I want a Thistledown Express,
A Milkweed Airplane ride!

"I feel frost speeding through the air.
I've lost the cuckoo's feather!
When I peeped at it weeks ago
It still said 'Sultry Weather'.

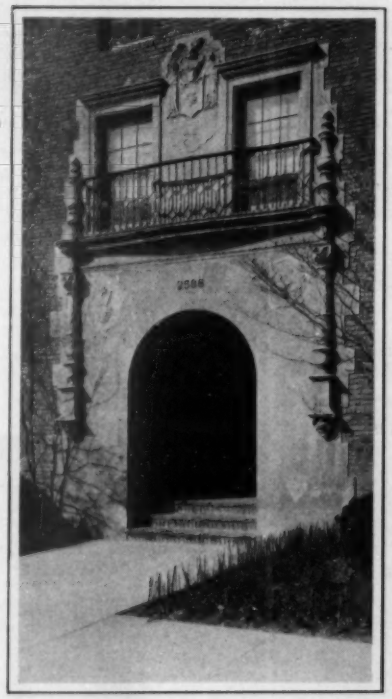
(*Will you please turn to page* 350)

The Housing of Harlem

By ALFRED ALEXANDER

THE building and opening of the Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments in the Negro quarter of New York City, is a striking step. In all American cities, the housing of the Negro population has ever been a problem, sometimes dormant, sometimes acute. In the large Northern cities, like Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York, it was rendered acute by the World War, when the stoppage of foreign immigration led employers to import Negro labor from the South.

The question as to where these newcomers were to live was a difficult one. It was doubly difficult because, before this time, all kinds of attempts at segregation and legal and illegal ghettos had been made. In Harlem there were numbers of efforts to keep Negroes out of the district altogether, to confine them to the area above 135th Street and east of Lenox Avenue, and other districts. The Negroes won the fight by out-bidding the white laborers in rents, by buying isolated properties at strategic points, and, after the War, by taking title to millions of dollars worth of apartment house property.

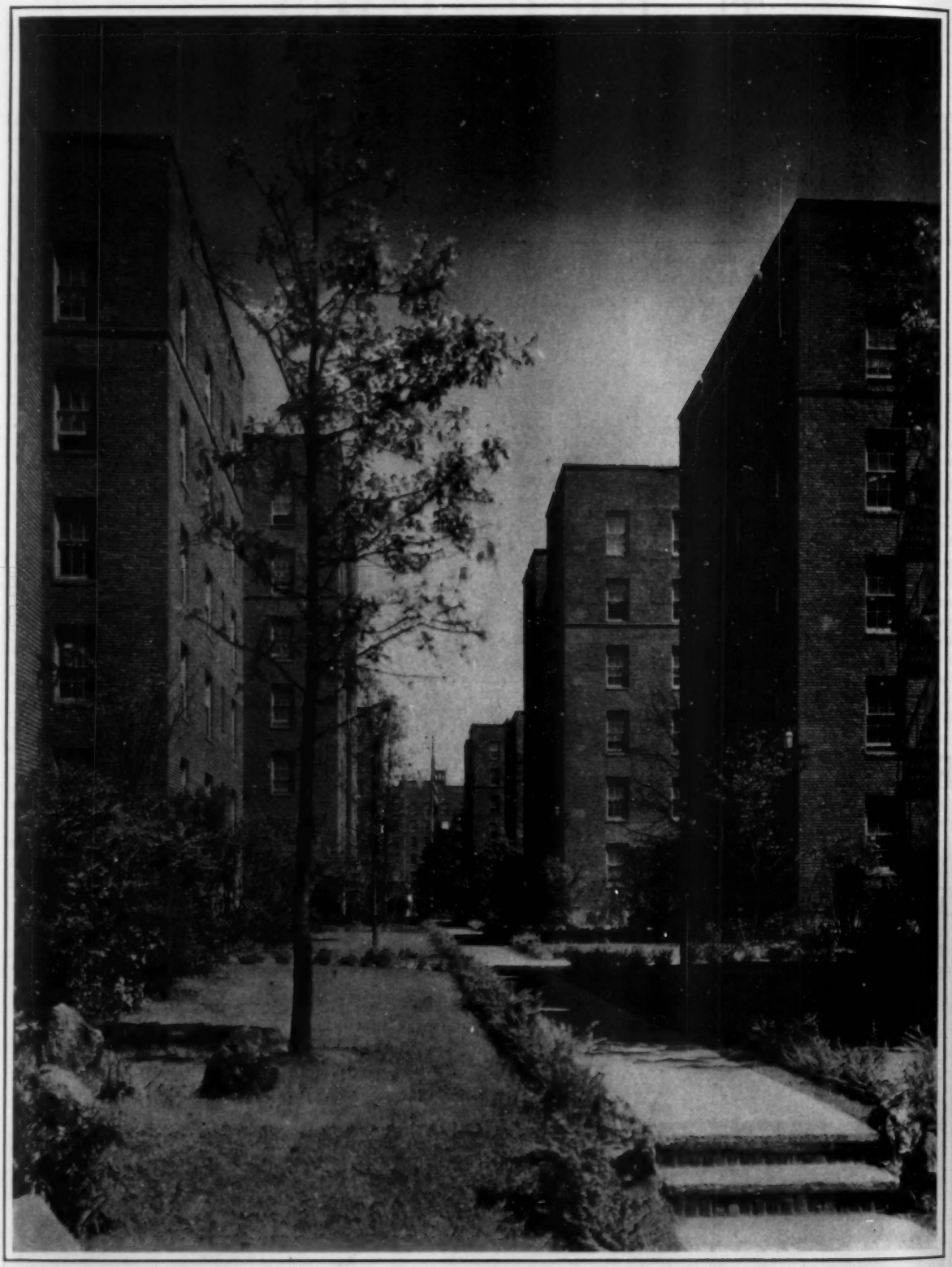


BUT the process was socially very costly. Rents were high, not for the accommodations received, but as compared with the income of the colored people paying them; those buying could not buy single houses because land in Manhattan is too costly for the single house. They must, therefore, combine their resources to buy whole apartments. This called for bank credit and bank credit all the New York banks refused on direct appeal. Indirectly, however, they were forced to make loans through brokers and these brokers made the burden for the payment of the interest and brokerage amount, in many cases, almost to confiscation.

Thus the landlords, new and old, colored and white, were caught between two millstones: they must pay compound interest and large bonuses and they were dealing with careless untrained tenants, who misused their property, paid rent irregularly, and spoiled neighborhoods by dirt and noise. Manifestly a weeding out process of the decent and indecent, the reliable workers and the noisy wastrels was needed and was hindered by race prejudice and the war rent laws. What was needed then was stabilization and the setting of standards for a segregated group which was refused such social service by the general community.

THE new laws and banking customs which encouraged cooperative buying of apartments opened the door and a considerable number of such apartments are now being bought by the better class of colored people. But here, too, difficulties were encountered. Banks still refused capital and credit on reasonable terms, and this enabled agencies to boost prices far above the real market. Again it was difficult to pick out ten, twenty, or thirty colored families who would cooperate punctually and honestly and submit themselves to common rules. Only a few Negroes saw the necessity of self-imposed regulations and business promptness.

The Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments



The Inner Court

Thus, two delinquent or careless families in a twenty apartment house would often utterly ruin an otherwise successful project.

Into this situation came the Rockefeller experiment. Many agencies had from time to time appealed to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other philanthropists to "help" colored people in business lines. They were for a long time rather puzzled as to what could be done outside of helping Southern education. They were probably warned that a housing experiment would fail because of the difficulties of securing a site and because of Negroes' lack of thrift. Mr. Rockefeller was, nevertheless, induced to make the experiment.

The original suggestion came from Mr. Rockefeller himself and was considered by an invited group of representatives from the colored Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and the Urban League. He bought a whole block, from 149th to 150th Streets and from Seventh to Eighth Avenues in Harlem and erected a set of ten connecting buildings. The block contains 150,320 square feet. The area of the buildings is 74,764 square feet, or 49.7% of the ground area. The architect, Andrew J. Thomas, had had experience in erecting apartments for folk of moderate means. He made the buildings, first of all, beautiful,—not gaudy and over-loaded with ornamentation,—but built with brick of warm color and soft texture, in well-proportioned masses, with sparing use of carving and wrought iron. He left a great space in the center open for grass, trees, shrubbery and a playground, building the dwellings but two rooms deep, and disposing them so as to make a series of wings and towers which concealed the fire escapes and gave a pleasing vista.

The buildings are erected on rock and concrete piles with foundations of rubblestone. The first floor is fireproof with steel beams and concrete arches. Other floors have steel beams supported by Lally columns and exterior walls with intermediate wooden beams. The hallways are all fireproof throughout and enclosed with eight inches of brickwork. The entire perimeter of the exterior of the buildings consists of Holland face-brick with ornamental details of limestone and decorative treatment of the Parapet walls at the roof of architectural terra cotta.

The buildings are heated with a low pressure steam heating system supplied by Smith cast iron boilers. Each building is treated as an individual unit, having its own boiler. The hot water system is separate from the heating, and like the heating each building is treated independently. All branch lines of the water supply are of brass.

In the construction of the stairhalls slate is used for the platforms, landings, and treads, face brick for the walls. The doors leading to the apartments are fireproof kalamein. These doors are equipped with Ackerman door interviewers.

There is a large playground in the center of the garden for the small children, equipped with slides, see-saws, sand piles, gymnasium apparatus, etc. This playground is equipped with drinking fountains and toilets for boys and girls. In addition, there are two nurseries adjacent to the playground.

THE result was an astonishing success. The house received the American Institute of Architecture's first prize for 1927. Perhaps for the first time in the life of the Negro in America, here is an enterprise which with all its philanthropy has essayed and succeeded in being beautiful. The deliberate ugliness which has been thrust upon American Negroes in the past,—upon a group peculiarly susceptible to beauty of color and form,—is astonishing. These apartments came as a pleasant change.

The rooms are small, the kitchen being about seven by ten feet, the dining rooms, eleven by twelve, the living and bed rooms, ten by eleven, thirteen or fifteen feet. The ceilings are eight feet, one inch high, and the decorations and finishings are simple, but good. There is, of course, electricity, hot and cold water, wash tubs and gas ranges, refrigerators and dumb waiters. The buildings are five and six stories high without elevators or roof gardens, but with wide brick entries and iron stairways and flagged landings.

The method of financing this project is as follows: no attempt has been made to take advantage of tax exemption. The buildings were erected at an actual cost of land and building including architect's fees, insurance and taxes during construction, together with 5% interest on the money which was advanced, of $3,330,000. No charge was included for financing other than 5% interest nor was any charge made for the services of Mr. Rockefeller's staff in developing the whole project. These services are being continued without charge, including a large amount of bookkeeping and other statistical work.

Tenants only can be stockholders, and stockholders only can be tenants. The tenants are required to subscribe for such an amount of stock as represents the cost of the apartment which they select. The down payment called for $50. per room, that is, for a three room apartment, $150. or for the largest apartment, namely, a seven room apartment, a $350 down payment must be made. The six and seven

(*Will you please turn to page* 351)

The Playground

The Possibility of Democracy in America

By W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS

FOR several years after the World War I used to talk concerning the results of the War, and to say that notwithstanding the slaughter and the upheaval that always accompany war we were going to have in the world an extension of democracy as a result of the fighting; that the democracy which formerly had ruled in restricted fields —in the election of officials, in the so-called political world—we were going to see extended into industry, so that in regard to work and wages and income, we were going to have democratic control. But I write today to apologize and change my thesis. I was wrong in what I was predicting. I see today without any doubt that instead of the great question of democracy being an extension of democratic control into further territory, the problem that faces us in America and faces the world is the question as to whether we can keep the territory which we thought democracy had already conquered; that, as a matter of fact, in every single culture country there is today a fight to retain democracy, and that reaction and oligarchy are beginning to hold up their heads in the world and to triumph. Moreover, here in the United States, here where we have essayed the greatest experiment in democracy, we have perhaps the greatest failure.

NOTHING could show this more than the present presidential campaign. There are momentous questions: the plight of American agriculture, the monopoly of water power, the role of organized wealth in industry, the future of organized labor, the distribution of national income. Most of these important questions we are not facing in this campaign. Why? Because the average voter does not understand how to face them. He finds himself vainly pawing the air in the so-called elections. He finds that he cannot exercise democratic control because he is not free to vote.

In the September CRISIS I showed how, where and why American Negroes were not free to vote. But how about white Americans? Are they disfranchised?

It might be assumed that the practical disfranchisement of the great majority of Negroes chiefly by race and not by condition had no effect upon the state and nation, but simply upon them; but the singular thing is, and the point which this paper is seeking to emphasize, that this disfranchisement

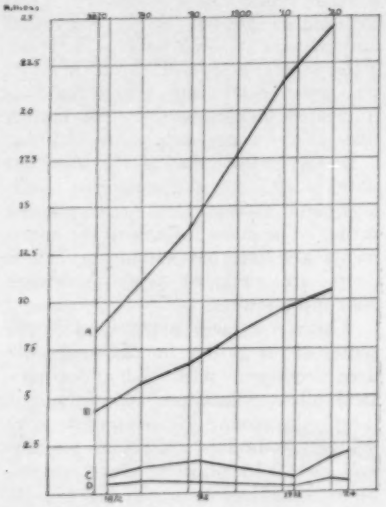


Diagram of Disfranchisement in the South

A—Increase of population in 11 *Southern states*

B—Increase of population in 5 *Southern states*

C—Increase of voters in 11 *Southern states*

D—Increase of voters in 5 *Southern states*

of the Negro has had an astonishing effect on the voting of other persons in the states concerned and in the whole nation so far as the mass of voters is concerned.

FIRST, in the Southern states it encourages oligarchy. Secondly, it enables cliques to nullify, not simply the 14th and 15th Amendments, but the 19th Amendment, giving the right vote to women. And finally, it entirely vitiates the normal distribution of voting power throughout the nation and makes a third party impossible. Let us take these points up in order.

One of the most interesting statements on clique government in the South comes from Henry W. Anderson, a rich white Virginia politician, who spoke at the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of Virginia, August 19, 1927:

"The Negroes were disfranchised. The Negro vote has since been so small that it is no longer a material factor in the political situation. But the process of disfranchisement did not stop there. The machinery of discrimination, devised primarily for this purpose, was then employed by the dominant party organization to effect a disqualification of a large proportion of the white population opposed to that organization, while unchallenged control of one political group permitted or encouraged political corruption. As a result of these measures the vote qualified or cast in the Southern States has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population. So small is this vote that the State and local office-holders constitute or easily control a majority. Governors and other state officers are sometimes elected by less than 10 per cent of the population of voting age."

Let us see how far we can illustrate this state of affairs by figures: we will take eleven Southern states—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas. We have the following facts as to the increase of population and of voting population in the presidential elections.

POPULATION

1870	8,228,826	1900	17,745,821
1880	11,457,878	1910	21,884,778
1890	14,197,747	1920	24,797,353

The presidential vote during this time has been as follows:

1872	1,238,141	1900	1,572,414
1876	1,606,230	1904	1,091,679
1880	1,555,534	1908	1,302,664
1884	1,682,314	1912	1,538,386
1888	1,808,964	1916	1,857,240
1892	1,870,948	1920	2,662,588
1896	1,945,463	1924	2,865,747

THE population in these states increased over 200 per cent since 1870, but the voting population has increased only 131% over 1872, *despite woman suffrage.* If we compare the population 1890-1920 and the voters 1892-1920, we find the population has increased 75% and the voters 42% despite the doubling of the electorate by woman suffrage. In other words, we have in the South today not only a nullification of the 15th but also of the 19th Amendment.

Moreover, the increase of voting from 1904 to 1924 is mainly in North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas. If we take the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, we have this result:

POPULATION

1870	4,441,544	1900	8,318,239
1880	5,871,805	1910	9,716,118
1890	6,910,091	1920	10,517,057

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

1872	661,770	1900	449,141
1876	844,091	1904	377,151
1880	701,066	1908	424,328
1884	619,166	1912	433,797
1888	629,675	1916	499,434
1892	803,127	1920	667,408
1896	598,092	1924	617,377

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THE BROWSING READER

DARK PRINCESS

DARK PRINCESS, *a Romance by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.* Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y. $2.00.

NOTHING at last can defeat the Negro but meanness of spirit; nothing can save him but the courage to enter his fiery furnace. It is as if three centuries had made him a flexible, Toledo blade for this century to test. Let it now flash and strike, if its steel be true. Courage is the real theme of *Dark Princess,* courage emphasized by symbols which are more representative than any yet chosen from Negro life.

We are abject, we are apologetic. In our society, in the crowded, everyday world, in the work we do, everywhere we jeer and scoff at ourselves. We need some vision of the unreleased possibilities of our natures, some higher confidence to stir us to great aims. We have had enough of deprecating and hedging. Ultimately it kills the spirit, it gives us life without purpose and dedication. We are become unworthy of the dignity and spiritual fire of our ancestors who were slaves in body alone.

McKay has been a clarion voice in our literature, says Mr. Thurman, because he only is aggressive in spirit. But I suspect Mr. Thurman is uncritical in praising mere desperate bravado. The courage of the Negro, like all courage of all peoples, is based on a wise and enduring spirit. It is rooted in suffering. Courage and the discipline of sorrow must be equally effective in moulding the new Negro. There is a great suffering behind us. We should be unified by this common tragedy. It is this last note which makes *Dark Princess* a sane and balanced work, purged of any rash and strident "aggressiveness". In fact, Dr. Du Bois has revealed the futility of mere "protest" and "aggressiveness" by the satiric but tragic portrait of Perigua, who ended by blowing himself out of the "problem" with dynamite, while the Kluxers he meant to kill were unhurt.

THE author wants an energy and a courage which are based upon the Negro's terrible suffering. Matthew Towns sets the double theme of courage and the chastening of sorrow at the very beginning of the novel. He is tempted to answer the Indian who contemptuously places the Negro among "the lower classes", by boasting of mythical African dynasties, and of the mixed blood in our Southern aristocracy. "I reckon," he began—then something changed within him. It was as if he had faced and made a decision, as though some great voice, crying and reverberating within his soul, spoke for him and yet was him—"I reckon you're right. We American blacks are very common people. My grandfather was a whipped and driven slave; my father was never really free and died in jail. My mother plows and washes for a living. We come out of the depths—the blood and mud of battle. And from just such depths, I take it, came most of the worth-while things in this old world."

BEST SELLERS IN THE CRISIS BOOK SHOP JULY AND AUGUST, 1928

1. Du Bois' "Dark Princess"
2. Cullen's "Copper Sun"
3. Fauset's "There Is Confusion"
4. Du Bois' "Souls of Black Folk"
5. Woodson's "The Negro in our History"
6. Du Bois' "Darkwater"
7. Dett's "Religious Folk Songs of the Negro"
8. Cullen's "Color"
9. Johnson's "American Negro Spirituals".

Since the rise of our Negro school of beauty and pure emotion, represented perfectly, I suppose, in the easy savagery of *Home to Harlem,* no catchword has been used so devastatingly against everything intellectual and purposeful as the catch-word, "propaganda". Certainly Dr. Du Bois is a propagandist, as many of his critics divine. He has raised the dead weight of our stolid depression by propaganda at once eloquent and sane. He has spoken both to our spirits and to our intellects. There have been both fire and light in him. Propaganda, I take it, is in his case the bringing to the people of inspiration and energy ordinarily beyond their reach. What he must sacrifice in artistry, he gains for this purpose and this time in stimulating the soul of a great people. What is the truth of the cry of "art for art's sake"? The English novel abounds in propagandists, including two of its greatest figures, Richardson and Dickens. And what of Harriet Beecher Stowe? With all its propagandic fire, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* remains great in theme and emotional power. It would be false to say that Richardson and Dickens are great *in spite* of their propaganda, because their propaganda is the very spirit of their genius, their driving force. There are critics who would measure all art by one yard-stick. *Dark Princess* must be evaluated as a representative panorama of the spiritual influence in Negro life, with a propagandic purpose, if you please.

I HAVE said that *Dark Princess* is representative. The characters of Matthew, his mother, Jimmie, Sammy Scott, and Perigua are all related to a normal center of Negro experience, and the Indian princess is brought into similar relation by the chastening of work and suffering which she undergoes. Sara Andrews, however, is the center of the book. Sara is more significant than any character yet drawn from Negro life, Porgy included. For Sara is what our aspirations seem to be. She is smooth and worldly and almost white. She is sensitive neither to the strengthening tragedy of our past, nor to fire and beauty in our souls to-day. She represents all that Negro middle class, which fails to perceive the divine human nature in Negroes, which scorns the soul of its own people, and tries to shut itself off in a world of comfort and relaxation. Smooth, clever, hard, selfish, and *comfortable,* is not Sara what *we* want to be, if we can get the education and social status? What has she to do with the depths out of which we come, "the blood and mud of battle",—or with a mother who "plows and washes for a living?"

It is she who is ignoble, not they who daily need to raise their spirit above the sense of defeat, above disease and penury. The class she typifies is killing its dignity and its vision by selfish comfort and detachment. High hopes and aims, and a sense of great adventure are being born in the fiery South among the people they scorn. In Sara Andrews and her Chicago set, or their counterparts in any section of the Negro *bourgeoise,* is the real meanness of spirit. Their compromising and truckling to the white world of power, their exploiting of the common Negro, and more than all else, their lack of vision and confidence in their highest human abilities is degrading, is inner death.

The portrait of Sara is made by an artist in fiction. The treatment of the life of the Pullman porter and of the Chicago politician is a re-creation of new and generally significant portions of Negro life. There are two carefully prepared and forceful climatic scenes; one on the train hurtling toward the dynamite set by Perigua, the other at Sara's reception to the political leaders of Chicago who are agreed on Matthew's election to Congress. The style varies naturally with the symbolic and realistic material, and is a credit to one already recognized as "a master of modern, English prose."

THE novel's chief virtue, however, lies in the mergence of a central theme. Matthew Towns is drawn between cowardice and courage, and the struggle is ennobling. Courage proves to be courage to sacrifice self. It is natural that Dr. Du Bois should have chosen this theme, for his own struggle for years past must have been to believe in the Negro's spirit and manhood. Are we soft and pleasure-loving, or are we tempered like fine steel? Perigua, the anarchist, expresses our own recurrent doubts: "We're tame tabbies; we're fawning dogs; we lick and growl and wag our tails; we're so glad to have a white man fling us swill that we wiggle on our bellies and crawl. We slave that they may loll; we hand over our daughters to be their prostitutes.—We're afraid, we're scared; we're congenital idiots and cowards. Don't tell me, you fool—I know you and your kind. Your caution is cowardice inbred for ten generations; you want to talk, talk, talk and argue until somebody in pity and contempt gives you what you dare not take."

PERIGUA is wrong, as McKay is wrong in "If we must die—". Our "caution" is not cowardice, any more than our laughter is childishness. The Negro is an Oriental in philosophy and spirituality. He ought not to prod himself into American "pep" and "aggressiveness". Endurance and fortitude are the foundation for the higher courage we now want. We shall not be weakened by a slavish love of life, if we fight as valiantly against misfortune and hardship as our forebears have. The fighter whom we honor is not the crusher, the slashing tiger, but the man who takes the hardest blows and keeps coming back, who refuses to be knocked out. And life itself demands just this ability to take sorrow and misfortune without bitterness, and likewise without loss of spirit,—just this wisdom of sorrow together with this persistent and higher energy.

In a class of college students in literature, I recenly found that none had read any book by McKay, Du Bois, Cullen, Hughes, Johnson, White, Green, Peterkin, Adams, O'Neill, Heyward, or Odum. Indifference toward Negro literature is a general condition, not only among our college students, but throughout our whole *bourgeoise*. *The Emperor Jones* was laughed off the boards in Washington and in Harlem. Negroes who have the money to buy books and the intelligence to read them are not interested in the literature of Negro life. Consequently Negro books are written for white readers, just as Negro schools are run for white patrons, and Negro spirituals are sung in New York to please white audiences. *Dark Princess* will not appeal to the same public which enjoyed *Nigger Heaven* and *Home to Harlem*. All those who have a high faith in the destiny and nature of the Negro, therefore, ought to read it.

ALLISON DAVIS.

FOR FREEDOM, *a biographical story of the American Negro*. By Arthur Huff Fauset. Philadelphia. Franklin Publishing and Supply Company, 1927.

WHAT shall our children read? This is a puzzling query for colored mothers and fathers. Quite naturally, most of the books tell about white people and this, together with what they learn in school and in the newspapers, brings the unspoken assumption that everything that has been done in this world worth while, has been done by white people. We cannot attack this natural conclusion by dogmatic assertion to the contrary, but we can put Arthur Fauset's book into the hands of young people. "It is told in the spirit of young folk because they more than any of us, perhaps, are able to re-live the lives and struggles of heroic characters with that innocence and fidelity of interpretation which are so essential to a true understanding of the elements which underlie human aspiration."

There are twenty-one very short chapters telling about slavery, Crispus Attucks, Phillis Wheatley, the Negro soldiers in the Revolutionary and other wars, Benjamin Banneker, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and others. Then there is something about Negro singers and contemporary writers and poets. It is an excellent book, clearly written and it ought to be in all our libraries, particularly where there are children.

W. E. B. D.

IN THE MAGAZINES

HARVEY C. LEHMAN and Paul A. Witty, a couple of erudite professors from Ohio University and the University of Kansas, report their findings in "Some Compensatory Mechanisms of the Negro" in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* for April-June, 1928. The study is based on the hypothesis that "an individual who realizes he is deficient in one field sets out to conceal that incapacity by training his ability in another direction". And so the good professors conclude that Negro children participate in church activities, playing school, writing poetry, social activities, and particularly boxing—boxing only requiring brute force, ability to stand bestial pummelling and a modicum of intelligence—with more frequency than white children because these activities symbolize a knowledge, power, and prestige which Negroes are unable to discover in actuality!

E. Franklin Frazier discusses "Sex Morality Among Negroes" quite frankly in *Religious Education* for May. Mr. Frazier says that to correlate the sex behavior of the Negro with his African inheritance is barren speculation, because the morality of the Negro in this country has grown out of his experience in America.

Dixon Meritt sends us a letter from the "New South" in *Outlook* for August 8. Mr. Merritt says, in writing about "Politics and the Southern Negro", that the time has passed when the Negro is blindly devoted to the Republican Party. In the coming election, he seems oblivious to partisan differences between Democrats and Republicans, and is giving very little support to either. After discussing the unscrupulous political manipulators and "other pusillanimous phases of our politics", Mr. Merritt concludes his letter by asking: "Who can blame a self-respecting Negro for keeping out of it?"

America, a Catholic weekly review, carries "The Unknown Field of Negro History" by John LaFarge, who tells of the aims of the *Journal of Negro History*, edited by Carter Woodson. Mr. LaFarge says: "In view of the efforts put forth by the Association for the Study of Negro History to set forth all the facts impartially and without the trace of ulterior motive, it would seem that it deserves the cooperation of Catholics as well as of the many non-Catholics who have already interested themselves in this work."

There is a simple grandeur connected with the ritual of "Crowning a Gold Coast Potentate", according to Alexander Reynolds in *Travel* for August. He tells the story of a race of men, whose slim, black bodies are models of symmetry and grace, and of

(*Will you please turn to page* 356)

The Late Bishop Delaney

THE Reverend Henry B. Delany was born February 5, 1858, the son of Thomas Sterling Delany and Sarah L. Delany. He was the youngest child in a family of twelve. His father, a Negro freeman, was a carpenter and ship builder. His mother, a slave, was a full-blooded African from the West Coast.

He was born at St. Marys, Georgia, but during the Civil war, he and the entire family being slaves, by reason of the marriage of his father with a slave, escaped across the St. Marys River into Fernandina, Florida, which was at that time occupied by Union forces. This escape was a memorable event in his life and was attended by no little danger. The crossing was accomplished in a boat by means of muffled oars.

Fernandina, Florida, thereafter became the home of the family. He received his earliest educational training from one of his elder sisters, Mary, who though born in slavery, had nevertheless, because of her aptitude for learning, been secretly instructed.

He later attended the Freedman's School in Fernandina. From an early age he was musically inclined and was the leader of the town band and the organist for the Methodist Church. He early showed signs of devout religious leanings and joined the Methodist Church. It was at this time that he attracted the attention of the Reverend Dr. Thackara who persuaded him to give up his trade, that of a brick mason, and study for the ministry. No financial aid was offered by Dr. Thackara, but encouragement that was sincere.

At this time he had already received what would correspond to a High School training. Thus at the age of twenty-three he left Fernandina and entered St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate Institute at Raleigh, N. C. He graduated from the Collegiate Department of the Institution in 1885, having established what was considered a brilliant scholastic record, and he was an efficient Latin and Greek scholar.

The Rt. Rev. Henry B. Delaney

Upon graduation he was immediately appointed a teacher of Latin and Greek in the school. It was at this time that he completed his studies for the ministry in the Episcopal Church, St. Augustine's, being at that time a theological school.

IN the same class with him was Nannie James Logan, who was the valedictorian of her class. She later became his wife on Oct. 6, 1896 and was a teacher thereafter in the school until she resigned in June, 1927.

On January 7, 1889 he was ordained Deacon in St. Ambrose Church, Raleigh, N. C. In 1891 he was ordained as priest in the same Church.

In addition to his work as a teacher in the school he was Chaplain of St. Augustine's Chapel, the Church connected with the school. During the summer months he was Superintendent of the school, and actively supervised and took part in the erection of additional buildings for the school. When it was decided that St. Agnes Hospital was to be built, he opened a quarry on the lands belonging to the school and quarried the rock from which St. Agnes Hospital was built, and actively aided and supervised its building.

He was later made Vice Principal of the School.

(*Will you please turn to page* 357)

The Riley Twins
S. C.

Cornelia and Maurice Lampkin
Ga.

The Cloud Twins
Mo.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

MUSIC AND ART

¶ Paul Robeson, who is starring in the London edition of "Show Boat", sang a group of Negro Spirituals to a packed audience at Drury Lane recently. The *Daily Sketch* said: "His renderings of the touching little convict song, 'Water Boy', of 'Deep River', and of 'Steal Away to Jesus' were absolutely faultless—perfect and consummate artistry." Mr. Robeson was accompanied by Lawrence Brown.

¶ "Goin' Home", by Ransom Rideout, a play woven about the experiences of an American Negro doughboy and his French bride after the close of the World War, opened recently in New York City.

PERSONAL

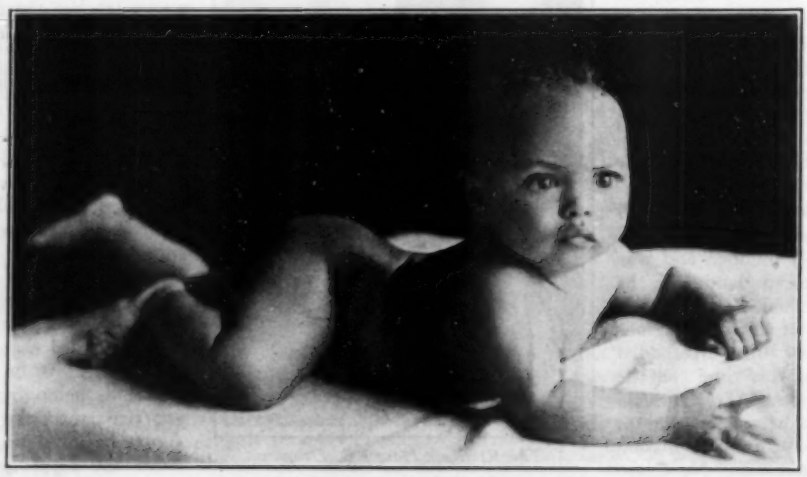
¶ Dr. Louis T. Wright, Negro physician and surgeon of New York City, is eligible for appointment as police surgeon of that city, having made second place out of 176 applicants, with an average of 89.10 in a Civil Service examination. The position carries with it the rank of Inspector in the Police Department and a salary of $4500 a year.

¶ The Harmon awards for literature, business, education, religious services, fine arts, science and music, will be announced January 1st. They consist of gold and bronze medals and honorariums of $3,500. The 18 judges are selected from well-known Americans, colored and white. Further information can be had of Dr. George E. Haynes, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. The second annual Negro art exhibit under the Harmon Foundation will be held January 3-15 at International House, New York.

¶ James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary of the New York Urban League, who attended the recent sessions of the International Conference of Social Work in Paris, spent some time studying the economic and social conditions of Germany and Russia.

¶ Edward A. Johnson, a New York City attorney, who in 1917 was elected by the Republican party as the first Negro Assemblyman in the State of New York, has been named to run for Congress in the coming election. Mr. Johnson's political career began in the early '90s and since that time, he has served as an assistant in the United States District Attorney's office of the Eastern district of North Carolina and as Republican chairman for the fourth congressional district of that state.

¶ Dr. Z. Alexander Looby ranked highest among the one hundred successful candidates who passed the Tennessee State Bar examination in July.



Sonia Osborn, Calif.

Dr. Looby is a B. A. from Howard University, an LL. B. from Columbia and a J. D. from New York University. For the past three years he has been a lecturer on commercial law and economics at Fisk University and at A. & I. State College, Nashville, Tenn.

¶ Justus, Joseph and Mae Davis, are the agents for THE CRISIS at Phoenix, Arizona. Besides being energetic agents, these children are amateur Jubilee Singers.

¶ Miss Carlette Thomas of New York City, who recently distinguished herself by the high ranking she attained in tests admitting her as an Associate in the American Guild of Organists, has taken a special course in the concert classes conducted by Ernest Hutcheson.

¶ James Preston Baker of Philadelphia, Pa., after 39 years as Business Car porter for the Pennsylvania Railroad, was retired from active service recently. A congratulatory letter was presented to Mr. Baker, bearing the signatures of the officials of the road. He was also given a purse on behalf of the Broad Street Protective League.

¶ Charles W. M. Williams, clerk of the Boston Juvenile Court, has been sent to Léopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo, as one of the United States' delegates of the Presbyterian Church to participate in an international conference in Africa.

¶ Lemuel Russell is Kansas City's first golf champion. The tournament he won was played on the new Grove Center Golf Links, located near Edwardsville, Kas.

¶ Colored boys and girls of Chicago welcomed recently "Farina", known in private life as Allan Hoskins, juvenile film star.

¶ Clarence Cameron White, Director of Music at West Virginia Institute, and John F. Matheus, Head of the Romance Language Department of the same school, sailed for Port-au-Prince, Haiti, recently. They plan to do research work in Haitian music and literature.

¶ When two Illinois Central trains crashed near Mounds, Ill., Darby Prince, a Pullman porter of Chicago, saved the lives of eighteen people by breaking the windows of his smoke-filled car, and leading them to safety.

¶ Mrs. M. L. Crosthwaite, a Fisk alumnus of the class of 1877, Registrar of the University for over 25 years, and Trustee since 1927, is nominated for re-election as alumni trustee.

¶ Tom Pritchard, a colored man, runs the Dixie Kitchen at Manila, P. I. Mr. Pritchard has 140 employees and serves 2,500 persons daily.

¶ Herbert Nelson, a Negro, has been conducting a real estate office in Ardmore, Pa., for the past five years. His business has grown so rapidly that his operations extend from West Philadelphia to Wayne.

¶ Charles Giles, a Negro policeman of Wichita, Kansas, ranked all the

members of the force in a recent memory test, making a perfect score. There are seventy policemen on the force.

¶ Young colored men often ask if there is an opening for Negroes in various lines of work and usually they are discouraged by hearing that there is very little chance for a Negro, even though he is trained, to become an engineer or an aviator or a bank official. Charles H. Dodge of San Diego, California, is an exception to the rule. Many years ago he attended Fisk University and then became a bank messenger in St. Louis. He served in this capacity for many years and then removed to San Diego where he became a collector for the Bank of Commerce and Trust Company. This bank was merged with the Southern Trust and Commerce Bank and finally was absorbed by the Bank of Italy. Today, Mr. Dodge is Currency Mailing Clerk in the bank and his daily count of half million dollars or more of currency is final. He has his own steel and locked compartment and has probably in the last twenty-five years handled more millions in actual cash than most millionaires. His integrity, kindliness and public service are known to everyone West of the Mississippi.

MEETINGS

¶ The eighth annual Teachers' and Students' Educational Conference was held under the auspices of the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A., New York City, August 9th and 10th. The Conference theme was "The Trend of Changing Moral Standards".

¶ Miss Nannie Burroughs, head of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D. C., was among the speakers at the World Sunday School Convention, held in Los Angeles, Calif., recently.

¶ The 29th Annual Session of the National Business League, which was held in New York City, August 15-17, re-elected Robert R. Moton president. Other officers elected were: Albon L. Holsey, secretary; A. L. Lewis, treasurer; and Bert M. Roddy, vice-president-at-large. Among the exhibits on display during the conference was that of the Hefflin Manufacturing Company, Inc., of Los Angeles, the largest Negro furniture and casket manufacturing firm in the country.

¶ The observance of the eleventh annual national convention of the Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co., Inc., included the official opening of the new Walker Building, erected as a memorial to the late Mme. C. J. Walker in Indianapolis, Ind. William Pickens spoke at the dedication of the building.

¶ Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart of Evansville, Ind., was elected president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, at its recent annual convention at Washington, D. C.

¶ The thirty-third annual session of the National Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association, which met in Baltimore, Md., in August elected Dr. T. Spotuas Burwell as its president.

¶ J. Finley Wilson was re-elected for the seventh time to the office of Grand Exalted Ruler of the I. B. P. O. E. of W., which met in Chicago, recently.

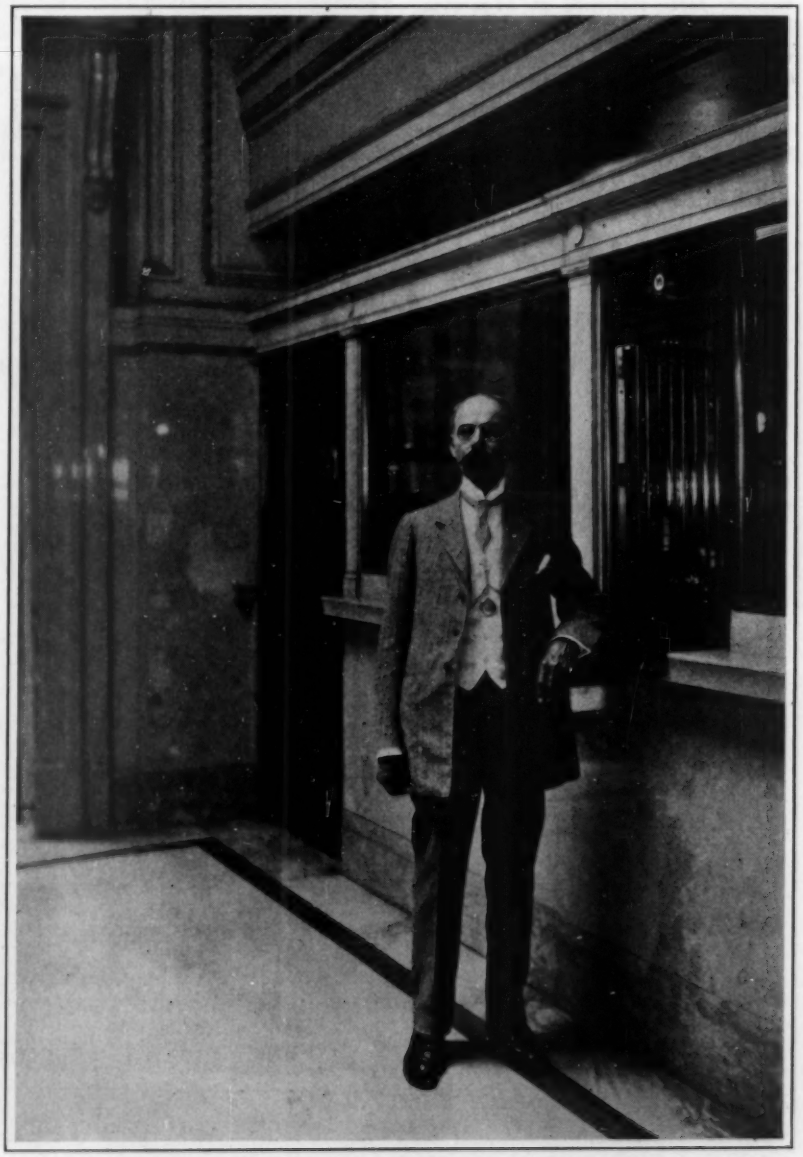
¶ The fourth annual convention of the Federated Colored Catholics was held in Cincinnati, O., early in September.

¶ On September 12th and 13th the National Negro Bankers' Associations met in Louisville, Ky.

¶ The annual convention of the National Association of Negro Musicians was held in Detroit, Mich., August 26-31. Carl Diton is president of the Association.

¶ The 25th session of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools named President John W. Davis, of West Virginia Institute, as its head for the coming year. The convention met in Charleston, W. Va.

¶ At the 12th annual meeting of the American Tennis Association, held at Bordentown, N. J., late in August, Edgar Brown, of St. Louis, won the men's singles over Ted Thompson, the champion for 1925 and 1927. Mr. Brown was the 1922 and 1923 champion. Miss Lulu Ballard won the women's singles over Miss Isadore Channels; and Reginald Weir, New York City, won the junior singles from Alfred Walker of Baltimore.



Charles H. Dodge in the Bank of Italy, San Diego, Calif.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

¶ A public golf tournament, held on city-owned golf links at Philadelphia, Pa., sought to exclude two Negro contestants, Robert Ball, of Chicago, Ill., and Elmer Stout of Newark, N. J., who established in court their right to play and then withdrew from the tournament.

¶ The Modern State Bank of Pittsburgh has closed its doors on orders from the State Banking Commissioner of Pennsylvania. The bank had deposits of $40,000 and capital of $50,000.

¶ Unable to secure an air pilot's license in the United States on account of his race, Captain Henson Cuttley, an American Negro, who is at present military instructor to the Liberian frontier force stationed at Monrovia, has entered the School of Aviation at Berlin.

¶ According to information obtained by Morton Schumacher, president of the recently organized Lincoln Motor Club of Philadelphia, Pa., not an insurance company in the state is willing to take cars owned by colored people.

Justus, Joseph and Leta Davis, p. 342

¶ The Nazarene Congregational Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., organized in 1873, has just celebrated its 55th anniversary. It had a migratory existence from the lower to the upper portion of the Borough, and is now located at its exact geographical center. It has now become the largest Congregational Church among the colored people in the United States. Its program contemplates in its scope religious education, spiritual culture and social service. Dr. Henry H. Proctor, who established the First Congregational Church of Atlanta, Ga., as an institutional center, began his pastorate here Jan. 1, 1920.

WEST AFRICA

¶ The Reverend I. W. Underhill, Jr., and his wife, have sailed for France preparatory to beginning work as advance missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the Cameroons.

¶ The King and Queen of Belgium are on a tour of the Belgian Congo. They have visited the missions of the Jesuits at Kisantu, and Léopoldville, the Congo capital.

¶ Mr. Leslie McCarthy has been made Acting Solicitor General of the Gold Coast and Mr. Justice Woolhouse Bannerman, O. B. E., Acting Puisne Judge of the Central Province. By long custom white men have formerly held these positions.

The Nazarene Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hilda J. Evans, Georgia

¶ The Kumasi Trio have gone from the Gold Coast to London to record 72 tunes in the Fanti language.

¶ Dr. Adeniyi-Jones, one of the African elective members of the Nigerian representative council, and President of the National Democratic Party of Nigeria, is visiting Europe for post-graduate medical work. He complains of the growing monopoly which Syrian traders are gaining in Nigeria.

¶ Sir Edward Denham, Colonial Secretary of Kenya since 1923 and who saw service before then in Ceylon and Mauritius, has been appointed Governor of Gambia, West Africa.

¶ S. J. Foster, M. B. E., has been appointed Acting Police Magistrate of Bathurst, Gambia, West Africa. This is the first time for twenty-five years that an African has been appointed to the bench, and it is a sort of answer to the complaint that Africans in the Protectorate have no right of judicial appeal.

¶ Kajowoola A. Abayomi of Lagos, Gold Coast, British West Africa, received the Bachelor's degree in Medicine and Surgery at Edinburgh, in July. He was a dispenser of drugs during the war; entered Edinburgh University in 1922, and won many distinctions.

¶ Sir Gordon Guggisberg, formerly Governor of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, has been appointed Governor of British Guiana.

¶ The Barber Steamship Lines, Inc., is to manage the American West Africa Line and take over the business of H. H. Bull and Company. There will be regular sailings from New York and from the Gulf, together with passenger service up and down the African coast.

¶ The native planters of Cocoa on the Gold Coast backed by a Dutch banking group, has established a selling organization in Amsterdam. They have a capital of 600,000 Florins.

LIBERIA

¶ President King of Liberia has appointed James L. Sibley, Educational Adviser to the Republic.

¶ On May 13th a government hospital was opened at Monrovia in the presence of officials of the government and the Diplomatic representatives. The hospital occupies a building of stone and concrete brick in the midst of extensive grounds. It faces the Atlantic Ocean and has broad covered verandas. There are rooms far the medical staff; an operating theatre; dispensary; consulting and reception rooms on the ground floor. Two other floors contain 200 beds in single and double rooms and small wards. There is a maternity ward, isolation

(*Will you please turn to page* 358)

Jessmae, Marion and Kathalice Mims, Louisiana

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

THE ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES

A CAREFUL comparison of the remarks of Messrs. Smith and Hoover in accepting their nominations to the presidency, reveal certain clear facts.

One of the great issues before the American people is the treatment of black Americans: their wholesale disfranchisement in the South, discrimination against them in work, wages and dwelling places in the North, their lack of educational opportunities, and the lawlessness and lynching of which they are the victims. Concerning this momentous problem, Mr. Herbert Hoover spoke as follows:

> [redacted]

Eleven days later, Alfred Smith treated the same subject as follows:

> [redacted]

If it be objected that this report does not take into account certain statements which inferentially may cover the Negro problem, we may say that Mr. Hoover said:

"The Republican Party does deny the right of anyone to seek to disturb the purposes of the Constitution by indirection." And he adds: "That the Republican Party adds to the Revolutionary doctrine 'that all men were created equal' and all should have equality before the law, a third ideal: The ideal of equal opportunity." He also declared that so far as the other countries are concerned "We have no hates, we wish no further possessions, we harbour no military threats."

Governor Smith declared that "interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin America must cease". That "every race has made its contribution to the betterment of America". And he added that "the impairment of the general regard and reverence for law was a mistake which was scarcely to be estimated".

Those Negroes who can find anything to get enthusiastic about in any of these statements are welcome to their enthusiasm. When Mr. Hoover spoke of enforcing the law, he did not mean the 14th and 15th Amendments; when he talked about equality, he was not thinking of the Negro. When Mr. Smith talks about law enforcement, he means liquor; and although he mentioned Nicaragua, he did *not* mention Haiti. And there you are.

HOW SHALL WE VOTE?

"FIRST, I will say that I am a Black Man and live in the South and have lived here all of my life. Second, I am a Reader of THE CRISIS. I read every issue and in fact I find no fault with anything that you have advocated and I am now asking you some questions:

"First. How should the Black Men of the South vote in this coming Presidential Election? Second. Should they vote for Hoover or should they vote for Smith? Third. Will the modifying of the Volstead Act change or have any effect on the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States? Fourth. Will not the tampering with the Volstead Act lead to more desperate action on the part of those who really are enemies to the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States?"

Our answers follow:

First. Black men of the South should not vote for Herbert Hoover because he favors the Lily White domination of the Republican Party in the South; because he has always been silent as to lynching; because he has stood for the subjugation of Haiti; and because he has done nothing and advocated nothing toward the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

Second. Negroes should not vote for Al Smith because in twenty-five years of public service he has never in any way recognized any Negro by appointment or by assenting to laws which Negroes wished enacted; because he is the running mate of an Arkansas Democrat who may succeed him to the Presidency; because he has made no protest against lynching and his political obligations to the South are such that the Negro cannot expect from him as President the slightest consideration of which the dominant bourbon South does not approve.

Third. Both Smith and Hoover represent in their parties and organization, organized wealth, industrial monopoly, and the exploitation of the poor.

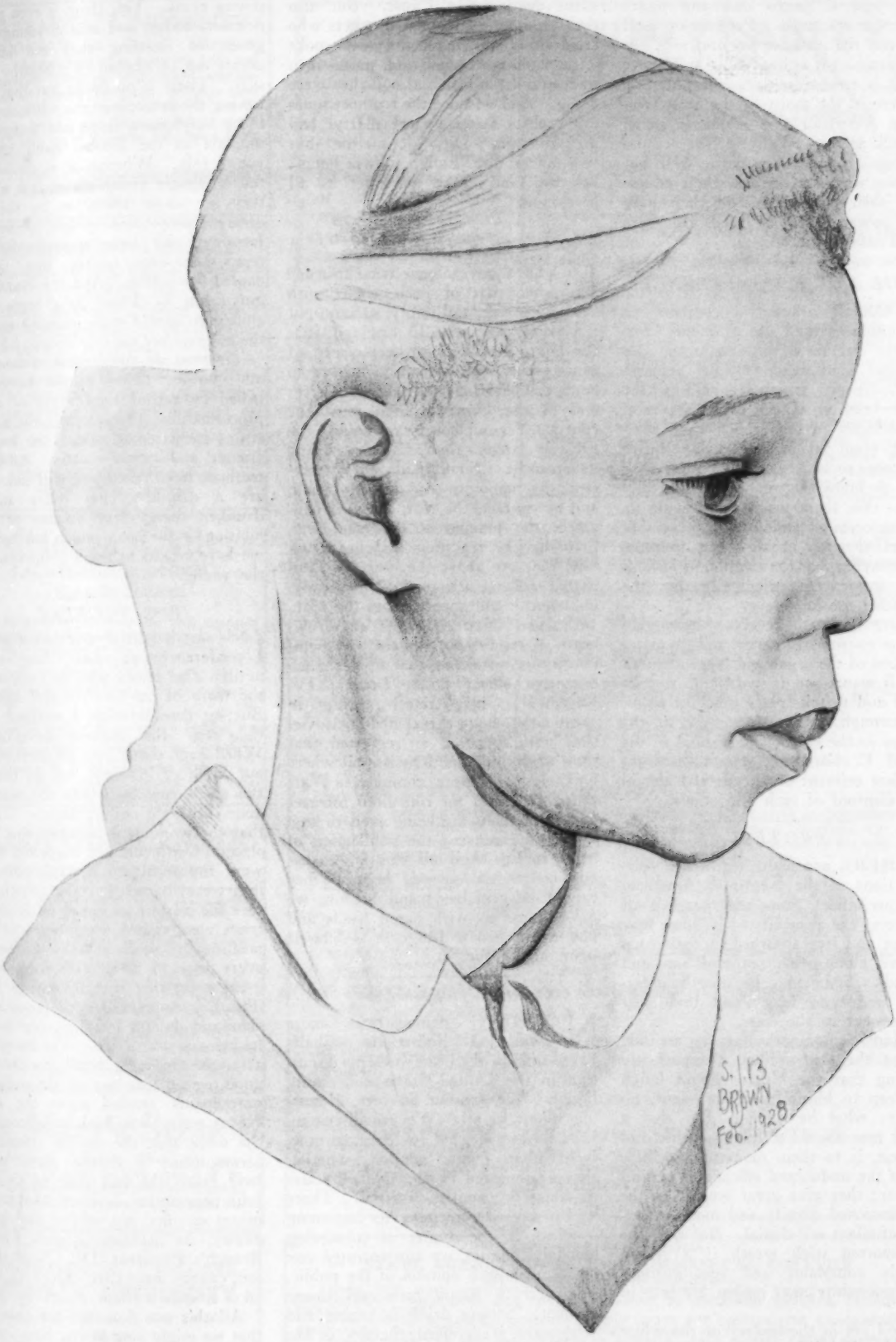
Fourth. The Volstead Act could be modified without changing the 18th Amendment. If the 18th Amendment were repealed, some persons might be encouraged to attempt the repeal of the 15th Amendment. It is doubtful if the corporations which have taken refuge under the 14th Amendment would elect the repeal of that law, and while many people would like the repeal of the 13th Amendment, the opposition of white labor would stop them.

Fifth. If the Negro does not vote for Smith or Hoover, what should he do? He can vote for the candidate of the Third Party—for Norman Thomas, the candidate of the Socialists, or for the Nominees of the Farmer-Labor Group or the Prohibitionists. This will be in effect throwing a vote away, because no Third Party candidate can be elected as long as the minority party can depend upon the rotten boroughs of the Solid South. Nevertheless, a vote for the Third Party in this election is a moral protest, and moral protests are of importance, even in the United States of America and in the year of Grace, 1928.

CHICAGO

WE may measure intelligence and count the number of homes owned and go over the list of Negro graduates, and yet be somewhat in doubt as to the advancement of the Negro race. But now and then there comes to our notice some sudden indication of progress that is "the voice without reply".

I rode down South Parkway, Chicago, the other day. It was once Grand Boulevard. And there, where this great and newly redesigned artery of the greatest city of the West, swerves and widens to a park, men are building a statue. At night the statue is guarded—a black policeman to the left and a white one to the right. And the statue is one built to Chicago's black soldiers who fought in the Great



"The harvest of a quiet eye,
"That broods and sleeps on his own heart."

War and a Negro race and figure towers in its midst. Perhaps in itself it is not the greatest work of art; but it is artistic; it is beautiful; and above all, it is tremendously significant.

Here in the midst of the most typical of American cities stands in stone, a black soldier. Why? Not because Chicago loves her Negroes so well, but because with their work, their education, their prosperity, and their political power, she must needs recognize the Truth at times.

THE A. M. E. CONFERENCE

STORIES are still current of an unprecedented use of money during the election of bishops in the late General Conference of the African M. E. Church, which was held in May in the city of Chicago. Exact facts are difficult to obtain but some testimony from an unimpeachable source has come to us.

"I do know that money was liberally used—that there was a 'pot' made up among certain candidates. I know it so well that you are at liberty to quote me as saying that the election of bishops was influenced principally by the shameful use of money."

THE CRISIS believes so thoroughly in the essential integrity and good intentions of the organized Negro church that it wants one of two things to take place and to take place quickly: either a thorough airing of the use of the money in the election of bishops in the A. M. E. church and steps toward immediate reform: or an effective denial and disproof of such allegations.

PROTEST

THERE are many legitimate reactions of the Negro to American race prejudice. Some may laugh it off by seeing the absurdity of it; some may ignore and live absorbed in their own groove alone with sea and sun and friends. Some may be silently indignant and some may shout their just resentment to the stars.

Many persons accept every attitude except the last. They are perfectly willing that the Negro should laugh or keep to himself and be silent, no matter what he thinks. But that a black man should stand up openly and protest, is to them monstrous. They stress the undoubted efficacy of cynical humor; they give great weight to the unquestioned dignity and moral splendor of silent self-denial. But they are transported with wrath if a Negro openly complains and sees crimson when a white man pushes his face in mud.

And yet in the history of the white world, what did modern peoples do to gain freedom for body and soul? They developed a few saints who went to silent death for a Cause. But also they brought forth great prophets who cried aloud and spared not; who spoke with flaming tongue and made men understand the filth and evil they were doing. And without the trumpet tones of prophets many a meek martyr had died in vain. Die, Victim, die! but let's not all die. Laugh, clown, laugh! but for God's sake don't let us all be clowns.

OUR JUDGES

EVERY government tries to hedge some part of itself about with sacredness and infallibility, so as to put it beyond criticism. In England, it is the King, even though he is shorn of exact power. In Germany, it used to be the Emperor and the High Nobility; and in the United States, it is the courts. Yet our courts are among the greatest dangers that assail democratic government. First of all, they represent, by appointment, by education, and by contact, the rich, the well educated, the privileged, the employers. Secondly, by tradition and by actual law, they are above the law. A Louisiania judge, sitting in New York, impudently and openly defies the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and browbeats a respectable lawyer with immunity as certain as that of a French executive officer under Louis XIV. Repeatedly, magistrates, sitting in great cities, have threatened their victims with lynching or regretted that they were not in Mississippi where lynchings are more common. Warrants are issued for ridiculous offences and injunctions are being used to stop strikes and prevent the publication of newspapers. And all this is because our courts are sacred; because they cannot be criticized; and because we must jump up with bared heads and kow-tow when a Judge seats himself upon his throne.

DRUNKENNESS

NOTHING demonstrates more clearly the limitations of half-baked minds than the present discussion in the United States concerning liquor. We are not, in fact, discussing liquor at all. We are discussing laws. Laws depend for their enforcement upon public opinion, whether they are enacted by the United States or states or counties or cities. There was a day—I remember its beginning—when, in the matter of consuming alcoholic liquors, we concentrated our attack upon this opinion of the public. We said to young men and young women: "Strong drink is raging and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." Today, we are concentrating all of our reason and ammunition upon methods of getting or not getting strong drink. Yet, there is even more necessity today, and among young Negroes, of insisting that the intemperate use of alcohol is unhealthy and silly. There is no doubt but that following the example of the white world, there has been a large and dangerous increase in the alcohol habit among young folk. Whether it is caused by the wholesale violations of law which they see about them, or by the increased competition of life, or by the fact that we have stopped teaching temperance—no matter how it is caused—it is true. And we should begin again in school and home and church to spread wide warning against the intemperate use of alcoholic liquors.

There is no royal road to manners and morals. They cannot be established by act of Legislature or royal proclamation. They can only be instilled by parental advice, the love of friends, and human contact. All other methods have failed and will fail. We are a drunken land today and a drunken race. Not because of prohibition or the open saloon but because we have ceased to teach temperance to the young.

LOS ANGELES

IN your delightful description of the conference at Los Angeles, I noticed that there was no mention of the work of the Los Angeles Branch. But on consideration I realized that this was the highest compliment. When everything goes off well, without hitch or accident, we do not see the machinery by which the work is done. But do not let anyone imagine that the wonderful meetings that took place in California just happened. They were the result of careful, painstaking, wearying work. For months before the conference began outlying districts were visited, encouraged to hold meetings, to work at baby contests, in every way to awaken interest in the great event that was to come in June. The Los Angeles Branch raised seven thousand dollars for the conference at its baby contest alone. The music was arranged for, every detail was carefully gone over before any of the delighted participants arrived upon the scene. Not a penny was paid in salaries, but the work that the various committees accomplished I should guess would have taken the full time of three or four persons for as many months. It meant sacrifice, not only of time but of money, for professional men, like the Branch's President, Dr. Claude Hudson, cannot leave their offices for hours on a stretch without pecuniary loss.

All this was done for the cause and that we might sing as you have sung, a paean to the hospitality and efficiency of California.

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House of Hark Back

(*Continued from page* 331)

dangled over the ledge on which the oak grew, ran the stream.

"I wonder," was her first thought on waking, "if it is true that an Egyptian was first to discover how water could be used in engineering. I shall ask mother."

And Phyllis did ask when she got home and learned that Ctesibius of Egypt truly had invented hydraulics, the science of fluids in motion.

The Little Page

(*Continued from page* 332)

"I wish I'd gone home long ago,
Back to the moss-wrapped dale
I'd rather ride on anything
But this rough autumn gale."

The Selfish Mole

I'VE made the most marvelous home my oh!
In which no one lives but me.
It has such a wonderful dome, heigh-ho!
A place you'd just love to see!

I've halls and I've walls that are cool and deep.
I fashioned them carefully.
They lead to the domed room in which I sleep.
My grass cot's just made for me.

You never could find me at home, I guess.
Not that I'm a gadabout.
It's all in my curved walls, I must confess.
They're built to keep callers out.

One Little Leaf

By EDITH HARRIS

"COME! Come like good children, it is time to prepare for bed", called Mrs. Fall Winds. They were all dressed very gay. Some had on brown suits, some were dressed in gold and others still, were dressed in crimson.

They came hurrying and scurrying down to the ground, all except One Little Leaf. "Ah, mother", he argued, "Let me stay a little longer and play; it is so nice to swing here on this twig," and he swung back and forth singing as he did so.

Mrs. Fall Winds was so busy putting the others in their brown nighties and placing them in their beds, that she did not notice that One Little Leaf had refused to stop playing and prepare for bed.

The children were very fond of scampering along the ground and playing many games while preparing

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for sleep, and Mrs. Fall Winds was very patient with them. In fact I sometimes think she liked to see them play with each other as they put on their brown nighties. Funny isn't it that they wore brown nighties instead of white ones. But Mrs. Fall Winds seemed to like the brown ones best.

One of their favorite games that they liked to play so much was to pile up. They would scamper along the ground for several yards and then all would pile up one upon the other. I even liked playing this game with them and often I would pile up on some of them while still others of them piled on me.

ONE LITTLE LEAF was still swinging on the twig of a great oak tree. "Come down! come down!" called Mrs. Fall Winds in a shrill voice, "I must get you in the bed before the blanket is spread over you". "All right", called back One Little Leaf, "In a moment as soon as I get a few more swings".

By this time Mrs. Fall Winds had placed all of the other children in their places in bed and thought she was ready for the blanket to be spread when she noticed that One Little Leaf was still swinging away on the twig of a great oak tree, even though he had by this time put on his little brown nightie. "For shame", she cried, "Are you not in bed yet?" "I shall tell Mr. Fall Winds right away". And she did.

When Mr. Fall Winds looked and saw One Little Leaf swinging on the twig he gave one loud call, when down came One Little Leaf and fairly scurried into bed for he was always afraid of the heavy bass voice of Mr. Fall Winds.

"There now, I am glad that task is done", said Mrs. Fall Winds, "For now that all of those children are in bed, perhaps I may be able to get a little rest". Then they were all covered with a great white blanket and soon were fast asleep.

Housing of Harlem

(*Continued from page* 335)

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Possibility of Democracy

(*Continued from page* 336)

We can see here the enfranchisement of the Negro (1872-76). His disfranchisement first by intimidation (1880-84) and then by law (1892-1904); then a slow increase of the white vote, accelerated by the 19th Amendment in 1920 but checked in 1924.

The effect of the 19th Amendment is interesting: not only Negroes but white men of these states gradually stopped voting after Negro disfranchisement; the million voters of 1892 falling to less than 400,000 in 1904. A hundred thousand were added to the polls, 1904-16, although a million and a half had been added to the population. A hundred and fifty thousand women came to the polls right after the adoption of the woman's suffrage amendment out of a possible two million and 50,000 of these disappeared four years later in spite of a million increase in population.

IN other words, in these five states, out of a total of 5,145,282 persons 21 years of age and over, there were 635,512 votes cast in 1920. There were in this election, therefore, disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily, 4,489,770 persons. Subtracting 19,000 Negroes as actually voting from the

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total number of Negroes 21 years of age and over, we have 2,215,991 Negroes disfranchised. But we also have 2,297,799 whites disfranchised, which is a fair indication of the cost of Negro disfranchisement in these five states.

VOTERS — SOUTH — 1920	White	Negro	Total	Votes	Disfranchised 1920
South Carolina	403,061	376,930	779,991	66,150	713,841
Georgia	846,276	575,330	1,421,606	148,716	1,272,890
Alabama	702,265	441,130	1,143,395	241,070	902,325
Mississippi	422,443	453,663	876,106	82,492	793,614
Louisiana	564,993	359,251	924,184	117,084	807,100
	2,919,038	2,206,304	5,145,282	635,512	4,489,770

	Estimated Negroes Voting	Negroes Disfranchised	Whites Disfranchised
South Carolina	2,000	374,930	337,711
Georgia	10,000	565,330	703,560
Alabama	5,000	436,130	464,195
Mississippi	1,000	451,130	342,484
Louisiana	1,000	358,251	449,849
	19,000	2,215,771	2,294,799

There is one consideration which, in the opinion of some, modifies these figures. In each one of these states there is practically but one party and a "white primary". Ostensibly to make the exclusion of the Negro voter doubly sure a system came into vogue by which only white voters are admitted to the dominant party primary and the condition of admittance was a promise to abide by the decision of the primary.

This means that in order to vote at all the white voter must first disfranchise himself so far as having any voice as to the major principles which form the chief matters of difference between parties. Practically his vote is confined to choosing between individuals who will carry out principles which he must accept before voting at all. If, for instance, a Southern white man wants to vote in the Democratic primary this year, he can only do so

if he gives up his right to vote against Al Smith!

In four of the states mentioned, 229,619 people voted in the regular election, while 722,271 voted in the primary election. If it is assumed that participation in the primary is some index of political interest, then the vote of the five states that we are studying ought to be quoted as 1⅓ million rather than 600,000. But even this is not more than a third the number of voters that a normal population of 10½ millions should furnish under universal suffrage. It shows, not simply the disfranchisement of practically all of the Negro voters, forming 40% of the population in these states, but that even if we give some weight to the "white primary" nearly two million white voters were simultaneously disfranchised.

In other words, the effort to disfranchise a million and a half Negro voters has cost the disfranchisement of nearly two million white voters, even if one assumes that the primary election is a fair example of the exercise of political power, which, of course, it is not.

N.A.A.C.P.

(*Continued from page 337*)

aboos only. Now is there anyone who honestly contemplates this record of the N. A. A. C. P. who will say that it has not justified its existence and the labors of its friends and executives?

And this record of the N. A. A. C. P., which includes epoch-making decisions by the United States Supreme Court, and a fundamental change in American public opinion in matters affecting the Negro race—this enormous work has been accomplished with a membership never exceeding 100,000 and with a budget never exceeding $80,000 a year. Much more than this is often spent by other agencies on a single case before the United States Supreme Court.

Now there are some 12,000,000 colored people in America. Less than one in every hundred of these is a member of the N. A. A. C. P. But every one of them, the entire 12 million, is directly and indirectly benefitted by the things the N. A. A. C. P. has done and is doing. Not one of them but gains in his rights when the N. A. A. C. P. affirms the Negro's fundamental citizenship status in court. Not one of them but may feel proud when the Spingarn Medal is awarded and the newsapers of the civilized world comment on distinguished achievement of a Negro American. But of them all, only one in a hundred is willing to pay for benefit received.

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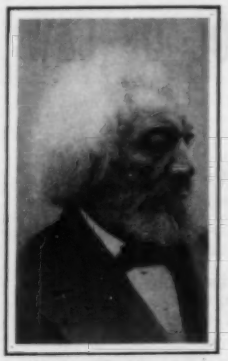

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a respect for the organized might of the Negro race in America as well as for law. That is not true. What the N. A. A. C. P. does is to make the entire nation listen to the organized might of a very small fraction—one in a hundred—of the Negro race in America and for the handful of white friends of this group. If that fraction, that one in one hundred, of Negroes in America who are members of the N. A. A. C. P. were to become two in one hundred, or if after a while one out of every ten colored Americans were a member of the Association, then the Negro in American would have a voice which no politician, no office holder and no editor would dare to ignore. That is up to the colored people themselves. They can if they will constitute themselves emissaries of the Association and see to it that no one is left uninformed of what it is doing and that no one remain indifferent for lack of an invitation to join and make common cause with this engine of civil justice.

H. J. S.

The Browsing Reader

(*Continued from page* 340)

the dignified crowning of a king who is fortified by centuries of African tradition and culture. Only once or twice does Mr. Reynolds burlesque his story.

Lady Kathleen Simon in *McCall's* for August describes "A Woman's Frontier of Freedom". Sierra Leone, a land of natural beauty, with its frothing surf, coral reefs and deep rivers, contained within its boundaries 215,000 black slaves, until they were set free on January 1, 1928.

Juanita Ellsworth, a student in the School of Social Welfare of the University of Southern California, writes of "White Negroes" in *Sociology* for May-June, 1928. Miss Ellsworth says that in almost every case she interviewed, the person crossed the color line, not because of any dissatisfaction with the Negro group, but because of the larger economic opportunities afforded there.

Independent for August 4 carries an article by Harry L. Foster who gives us his own idea of "That Colorful Black Republic", Haiti. Mr. Foster feels that the Marines have instilled in the "trustful black native" a "wholesome respect for the white man"; and that the only resentment displayed toward Americans is found in the cities where the Haitian aristocrat resides. In speaking of the educated Haitian, Mr. Foster says: "He rather likes to feel himself superior in culture to the best of Americans. Despite an underlying inferiority complex—*akin to that*

felt by all inferior people—he loathes the invaders!"

Plain Talk for August carries "Ex Cathedra", a reprint of an article by G. D. Eaton, which appeared some time back in *McNaught's Magazine*. Mr. Eaton has attempted what he believes to be a fair exposition on the institution of slavery and manages to arrive at some entertaining conclusions. Although he is not defending slavery and he admits it was surely a pretty bad system, Mr. Eaton doesn't think the whipping of a slave was really a very terrible matter, for, he asks: "How do parents punish children today, and, for that matter, how do many school teachers punish pupils who are neither their property, nor related to them?"

The same issue carries a colorful vignette, "Ten Drops of Water", by Howard Snyder. Elizabeth, who liked to garb her strong, black body in gorgeous blues, greens aud reds, and who crooned throbbing lullabies to the moon, with her sweetheart, Andy, is the helpless victim of the share crop system of the South. Elizabeth's only possessions are an indomitable spirit and five children; but ignorance and superstition caused her death at the birth of the sixth.

MARVEL JACKSON.

Bishop Delaney

(*Continued from page* 341)

In 1908 he was called to become Archdeacon of the Diocese of North Carolina. He then resigned as Vice-Principal of the school but was requested by the Bishop of the Diocese to retain his residence on the school campus, and was elected by the Board of Trustees as a Trustee of the School.

In 1911 Shaw university conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1918 on May 15th he was unanimously elected by all of the clergy of the Diocese as Bishop Suffragan. Before he was consecrated, the Diocese of East and West Carolina and South and Upper South Carolina asked that his work include those dioceses also. He was consecrated Bishop in St. Augustine's Chapel on November 19, 1918.

Bishop Delaney died April 14, 1928 in the seventieth year of his life. He was not an aggressive man nor self assertive; but he was a good man, a faithful husband and the kind father of a large family. Of few could it be said with better grace:

"He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

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Along the Color Line

(*Continued from page* 358)

ward and a pavilion. The entire hospital has modern, sanitary equipment. The medical staff consists of three physicians and a group of nurses.

¶ More than 200 miles of highways have been completed in Liberia.

¶ Liberia is represented at the 9th Assembly of the League of Nations by a German, Baron Lehmann, who is the Liberian Minister in France.

NORTH AFRICA

¶ The entire population of Italian Africa is 2,115,070, of which Tripoli has 500,070; Eritrea, 420,000; Cyrenaica, 195,000; and Somaliland, 1,000,000.

¶ A new treaty has been signed between Italy and Abyssinia. It is said to provide for leasing, for twenty years, an area of land near the Port of Assab by Italy to Abyssinia. Also, a motor road to Addis Abeba will be built. If this is true, Abyssinia will thus get a free port at Assab and relations with Italy, broken off by a crushing defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896, will be resumed on a friendly basis.

BELGIAN CONGO

¶ The Belgian Socialists, through the Socialists' Banque du Travail, of Ghent, have founded cotton companies in the Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi. In this way the Socialists are going to take "active share in the development of the Belgian Congo". This astonishing step should be watched with interest.

ENGLAND

¶ Nana Sir Ofori Atta sailed from England for the Gold Coast, Wednesday, July 18th. He visited Liverpool and was entertained at dinner; went to Manchester, and to Scotland. He especially was interested in various factories and industrial works. He said in one of his speeches: "I think that the ignorance of the Englishmen of the value and importance of these colonies should not be allowed to go on."

¶ A Franco-British Congress has been held in London under the auspices of the League of the British Empire.

¶ The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures is supported by a grant of five thousand dollars a year for five years by the Laura-Spelman Foundation; grants of one to two thousand dollars from various British colonies and Belgian and French colonies; subscriptions from missions and from various industrial firms, like the Niger Company, the Shipping Company, the Mines, etc. This, we fear, insures that the Institute will attempt nothing which invested capital fears.

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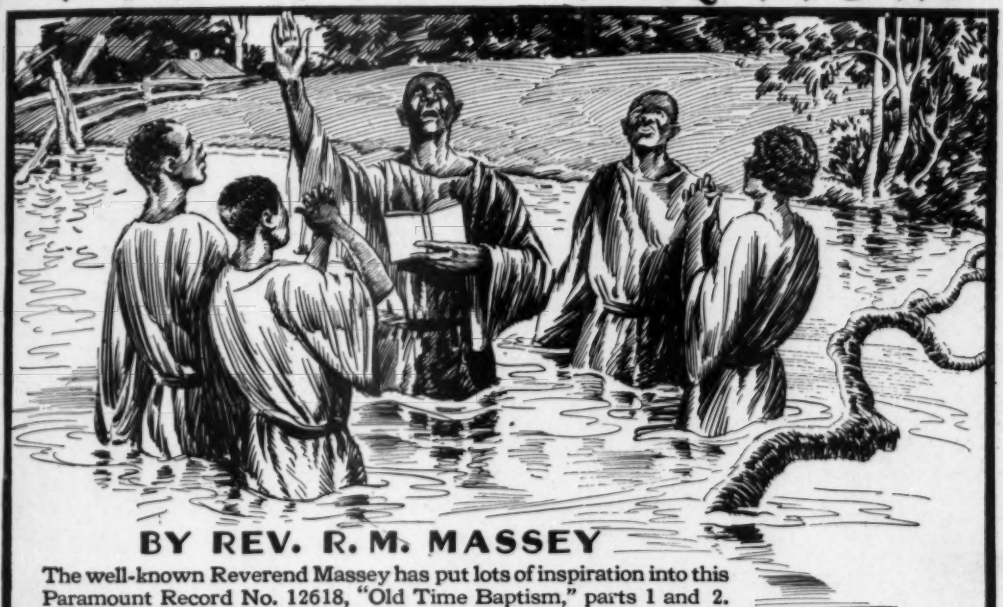

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